

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2694  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0692

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR,UNSC,WAS,SF,US  
SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: MEETING WITH WESTERN MEMBERS,  
MARCH 9.

I BELIEVE FOLLOWING BACKGROUND SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO  
SECRETARY VANCE'S ATTENTION IN CONNECTION WITH HIS MEETINGS  
WITH PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN:

1. AT INVITATION OF GERMAN PERM REP VON WECHMAR, WESTERN  
REPRESENTATIVES ON SECURITY COUNCIL (US,UK,FRANCE,  
CANADA, AND FRG), MET AT FRG RESIDENCE FOR LUNCH, MARCH  
9.

2. VON WECHMAR DREW ATTENTION OF GROUP TO CALL PAID ON  
HIM EALIER IN DAY BY NIGERIAN PERM REP HARRIMAN, WHO  
IS CHAIRMAN OF UN APARTHEID COMMITTEE. HARRIMAN  
TOLD VON WECHMAR THAT FOUR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS WERE TO BE  
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SHOWN TO CLOSED SESSION OF APARTHEID COMMITTEE SEERING  
GROUP AFTERNOON MARCH 9. ACCORDING TO VON WECHMAR,  
RESOLUTIONS HAVE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS (HE DOES NOT HAVE A  
COPY OF DRAFTS HIMSELF):

A) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 1" IS CONDEMNATION OF  
SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS APARTHEID REGIME, WHICH REQUESTS  
SOUTH AFRICA TO END ITS USE OF FORCE, FREE POLITICAL

PRISONERS, ABOLISH SECURITY LAWS AND APARTHEID  
LEGISLATION, PUNISH THE USE OF FORCE BY SOUTH  
AFRICAN SECURITY, ABOLISH TORTURE, ABANDON BANTUSTAN  
POLICY, AND MAKE WAY FOR MAJORITY RULE;  
B) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 2" DECLARES A STATE OF WAR  
AS EXISTING BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS,  
REASONING THAT THE SAG IS USING MILITARY FORCE AGAINST  
THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION, IS MILITARILY OCCUPYING NAMIBIA  
ILLEGALLY AND IS OPPOSING THE EXERCISE OF THE UN MANDATE  
THERE. FURTHER, SOUTH AFRICA IS CONDUCTING ATTACKS AGAINST  
ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA, IS NOT RESPECTING SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS, IS SYSTEMATICALLY VIOLATING SANCTIONS  
AGAINST RHODESIA. ALL THESE MEASURES, THE DRAFT CONTINUES, ARE  
INTENDED TO MAINTAIN THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. THE DRAFT WOULD  
HAVE THE SC GIVE SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL AUGUST 31 TO TERMINATE  
ITS "STATE OF WAR". SHOULD SOUTH AFRICA FAIL TO DO SO,  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE INVITED TO CONSIDER  
"APPROPRIATE ACTION" UNDER THE CHARTER.  
C) "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 3" WOULD INVITE  
STATES TO INSTITUTE AN EMBARGO ON MILITARY SALES  
AND MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA,  
WITH STATES TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THEIR IMPLEMENTATION  
OF THE RESOLUTION BY JUNE 16;  
D) DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 4" RECOMMENDS THAT ALL  
STATES AVOID AND PREVENT ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH  
SOUTH AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR, TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

3. ACCORDING TO VON WECHMAR, HARRIMAN DESCRIBED THESE  
DRAFT AS "MILD" AND HAVING THE EFFECT OF POSTPONING  
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FURTHER ACTION UNDER CHAPTER VII. ACCORDINGLY HARRIMAN  
CALLED FOR THEIR SUPPORT BY CONSENSUS.

4. AMBASSADOR YOUNG OBSERVED THAT NONE OF THESE TEXTS  
REALLY CONTRIBUTED ANYTHING TO THE PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION  
OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE NEEDED TO PERSUADE S.A. THAT THERE  
WAS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WITHDRAWAL INTO A LAAGER AND A DETER-  
MINATION TO FIGHT TO THE END. INSTEAD, HE ADVANCED THE IDEA  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRODUCING A "SOLEMN DECLARATION"  
CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SC  
OF A FIVE-MEMBER (US, UK, FRANCE, FRG, AND CANADA) "CONTACT  
GROUP" TO MEET WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN AN EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT  
SC RESOLUTION 385 CONCERNING NAMIBIA. AMBASSADOR YOUNG  
ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA SEEMED TO BE SHOWING SOME WILLING-  
NESS TO MOVE IN CERTAIN AREAS, WHICH WILLINGNESS MUST BE  
EXPLOITED. AT THE SAME TIME, SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE MADE  
TO SEE THAT FURTHER INTRANSIGENCE ONLY CAN LEAD TO A MORE  
RADICAL CHANGE TO MAJORITY RULE.

5. AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PRESENTATION WAS RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND, FOLLOWING EXCHANGES AMONG THOSE PRESENT, THE GROUP REACHED THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

- A) NONE OF THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SC IS PLEASED WITH THE FOUR DRAFTS (NOR WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR ONE DEBATE ITEM).
  - B) FURTHER, WESTERN MEMBERS SHOULD CONTACT THE AFRICANS AND TELL THEM THAT THESE DRAFTS, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD NOT LEAD TO ANY FORWARD PROGRESS AND THAT ANOTHER WAY WAS REQUIRED.
  - C) WE SHOULD INQUIRE OF THE AFRICANS AS TO WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AVOID ANY RESOLUTIONS EMERGING FROM A DEBATE ON APARTHEID, THE BEGINNING OF WHICH, AT LEAST, THOSE PRESENT AGREED WAS INEVITABLE.
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- D) SHOULD THAT NOT PROVE POSSIBLE, WE WOULD SUGGEST A "SOLEMN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES", RELATED TO THE POINTS OUTLINED ABOVE IN "DRAFT RESOLUTION NO. 1".
- E) THE FIVER WESTERN MEMBERS WOULD MAKE A JOINT REPRESENTATION TO THE SAG IN PRETORIA CONCERNING SOUTHERN AFRICA.
- F) EFFORTS WOULD BE MADE TO HAVE THE SC CREATE A "CONTACT GROUP" OF FIVE OF THOSE "ABLE TO ON A VOLUNTARY VASIS", TO CONTACT SOUTH AFRICA CONCERNING NAMIBIA. FRENCH PERM REP ARGUED RESONABLY THAT SUCH A DESCRIPTION WOULD OF NECESSITY EXCLUDE SOVIETS AND CHINESE, WHO DID NOT HAVE SUCH CONTACTS, AND OTHERS WHO DID NOT HAVE REPRESENTAATION IN PRETORIA--WHICH WOULD BE AN ADVANTAGE TO US--AND THAT THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE A FORMULA WHICH COULD BE ACCEPTED BY OTHER SC MEMBERS, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT IT IS THE WESTERN MEMBERS WHO HAVE LEVERAGE WITH THE SAG. ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS, FRG AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A GROUP.
- G) SHOULD NOTHING EMERGE FROM EFFORTS BY CONTACT GROUP, OTHER MEASURES WOULD BE CONSIDERED. FRG URGED THAT CONTACT GROUP TALK WITH PRETORIA BEFORE MAY.

6. IT WAS AGREED THAT GROUP MEMBERS WOULD SEEK GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ABOVE AND MEET AGAIN MARCH 16, PRIOR TO MEETING WITH AFRICANS TWO DAYS THEREAFTER. YOUNG

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